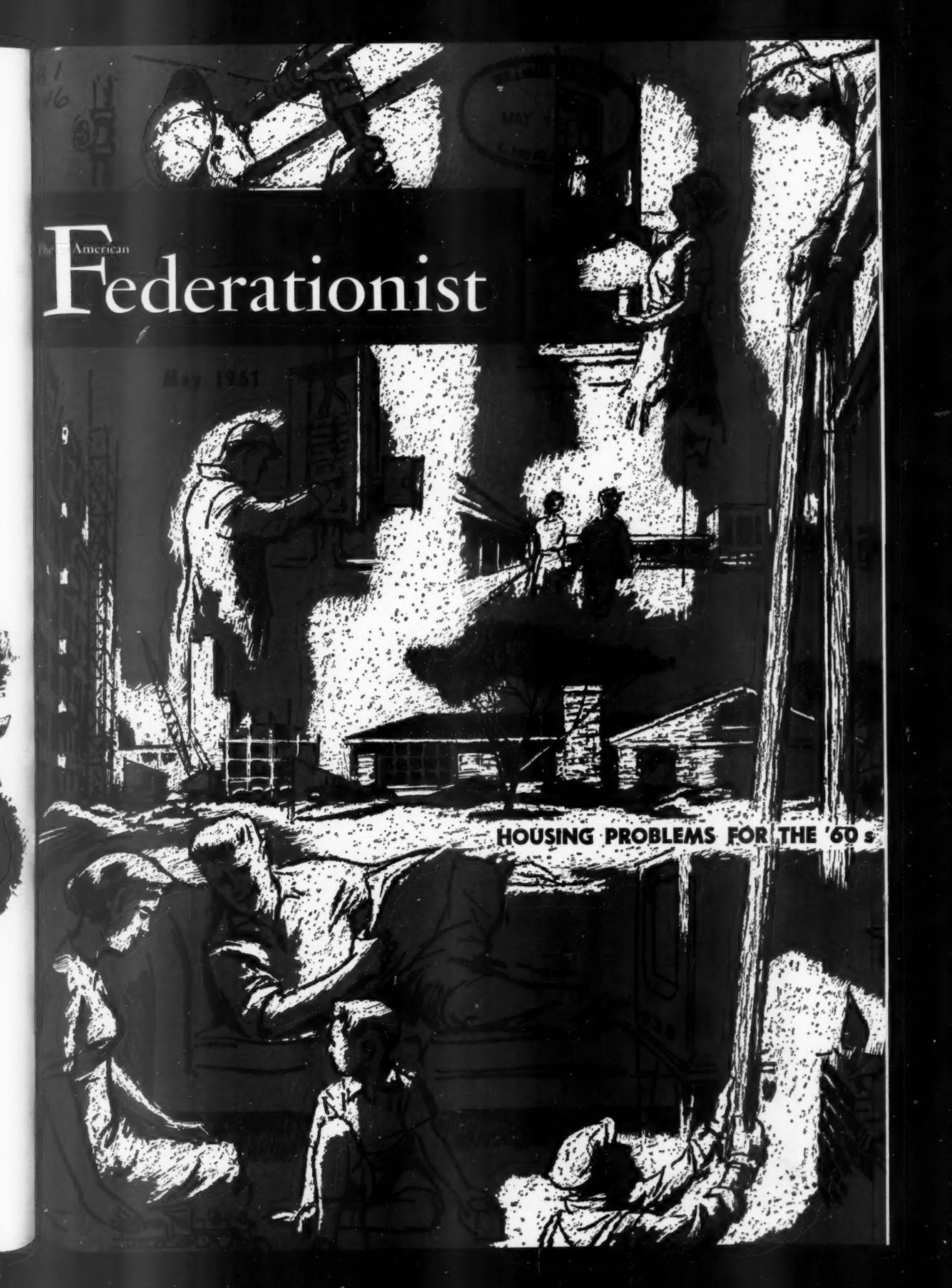


The American
Federationist



May 1961

HOUSING PROBLEMS FOR THE '60s



What we, the citizens of today,
do will shape the world our chil-
dren will inherit tomorrow.♦♦♦♦
If they are to be free and secure
and enjoy happiness, we must
lay the groundwork.♦♦♦♦ It is to
building this better world that
the AFL-CIO is dedicated - to the
ultimate good of all mankind.♦♦



It is
is w

to t
smal
elder
are

of a
sprat
tress

burg
prob
farm
Ten
The

cent
out

an i
whi
prob

to t
in t

IN 1

Need

Hous
Pro

The
Ce

Brief

Publis
Washin
applic

The home and the neighborhood obviously are the center of life for a man and his family. It is the base from which he goes to work, it is where his children carry on their education, it is where his wife markets and where the family socializes.

It would seem as obvious that the quality of life open to a family would be closely related to the kind of house and neighborhood in which it lives. If the family is crowded into too-small quarters; if the house and neighborhood are in slum condition; if a relatively helpless elderly person is isolated in a walk-up tenement—these are dehumanizing conditions. They are fertile soil for producing despair and instability in family life.

America in the 1960s, so long after President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke of one-third of a nation ill-housed, still has over one-fifth of its people ill-housed and more bogged in urban sprawl. The article on Page 3 discusses the very human problem involved in the light of the distressing 1960 census of housing.

While a paramount problem of our time may be to provide decent living conditions for burgeoning urban masses, there was a giant in another time who helped conquer as great a problem. Senator George Norris, who knew hard living and oil lanterns on Ohio and Nebraska farms, lived to see rural America electrified and chiefly through his efforts; he lived to see the Tennessee Valley Authority rejuvenate a region and its people and chiefly through his efforts. The article on Page 20 remembers this man of the people on the centennial of his birth.

It is one thing to recognize and define a problem; another to deal with it. Local and state central labor bodies are taking on a new importance in dealing with problems as is pointed out in the article on Page 7.

The central labor bodies also may prove to be one of the strategic levers in bringing about an increasing unionization in the South. A fresh look at the region is offered on Page 15 and, while it is shown the South is not such an open-shop bastion as it is touted, there are formidable problems involved.

Problems growing out of increasingly industrialized and urbanized societies are not unique to the United States; in fact, the parallels taking place in Canada are alarming, as is recounted in the article on Page 12.

The American Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor
and Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

IN THIS ISSUE

Needed: An Aroused Citizenry

George Meany 2

Vol. 68 MAY 1961 No. 5

Housing for Americans—
Problems for the '60s

Boris Shishkin 3

Canada in Crisis: Unemployment
and a New Party Clifford A. Scotton 12

The Challenge Facing
Central Labor Bodies

Stanton E. Smith 7

The Modern South:
Organized Labor's New Frontier Robert B. Cooney 15

Briefing Session

10

Norris of Nebraska: People's Advocate Roscoe Fleming 20

Socialist Unions Moving
Toward Welfare State David J. Saposs 23

Published every month by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at AFL-CIO Building, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Editor—George Meany. Director of Publications—Saul Miller. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Second class postage paid at Washington. No material may be reprinted without prior permission. Paid advertising is never accepted.

Needed: An Aroused Citizenry

With the arrival of spring, we can expect to read cheery predictions that the economic weather will improve as rapidly as the temperature climbs. But will it really improve?

One thing is sure, however, the memories of this bitter winter recession weather, with growing unemployment in an ever-increasing number of industries and geographical areas, will not soon fade away.

Certainly the official reports of the Department of Labor will reflect more people working and fewer people idle—just because the weather has improved. Those with jobs will be tempted to think the worst is over.

But we in the labor movement must be more realistic.

Even if the Department of Labor's figures are more favorable than expected, they will still show that some 65 out of every 1,000 American workers cannot find jobs. They will show a continuing "hard core" of close to two million workers who have been idle for 15 or more weeks. They will offer little indication our economy can absorb an additional 1.25 million workers a year, on top of the undigested surplus we now have.

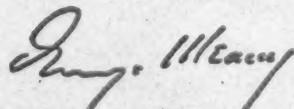
Over the last decade we have failed to find jobs for a workforce that has increased by 800,000 a year. What will happen when the annual increase nearly doubles as it will shortly? What will happen as automation continues to put one button-pusher in the place of 50 or 500 wage-earners?

This is no academic problem. It is practical, immediate and universal. It concerns the proudest craftsman, smug in his conviction that no machine can touch him; for even if he's right, who will hire his skill? It concerns the most arrogant industrialist, sure he will be first with the best equipment; for who will buy his products? It concerns the most unworldly scientists, technicians or professional men; for they cannot survive without the backing of a prosperous community.

The day has passed when we can have "aristocrats" safe from the economic disaster of others. Unless our society works it will collapse; and it cannot work unless there is work for all. There are no islands of security for the favored few, no economic bombshelters for anyone. We are in this together; and together we must grope our way toward a real and lasting solution.

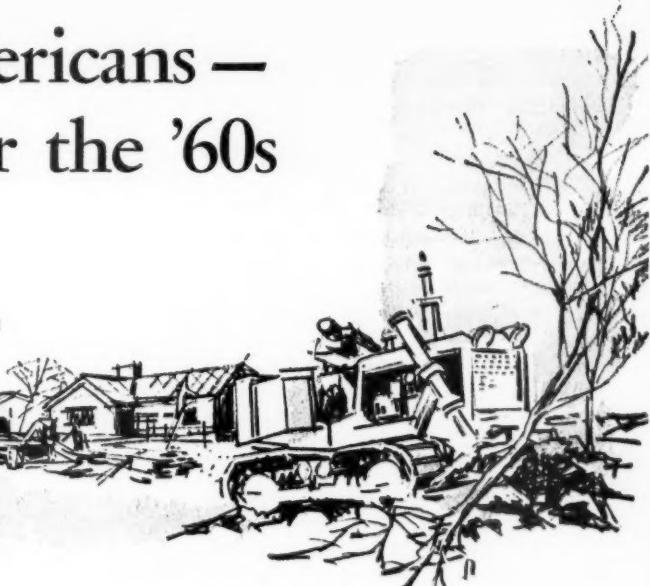
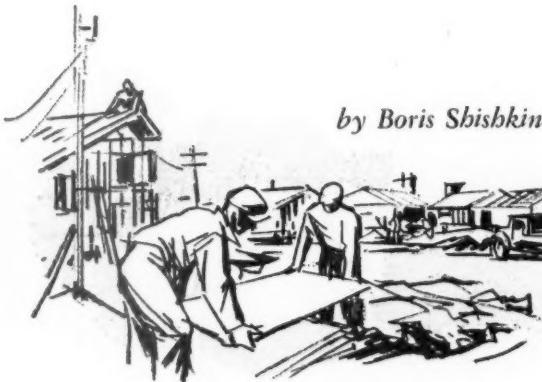
The rising temperatures will not thaw our economic problem. Only thoughtful legislation, promptly enacted, can get the job started.

And the Congress is not going to act unless it feels a sense of urgency. An aroused citizenry, demanding action from its representatives, is the answer for America today.



Housing for Americans — Problems for the '60s

by Boris Shishkin



A key measure of a nation's standard of living is the quality of homes in which its people live. To run an accurate check on the kind of homes Americans live in, a nationwide census is conducted every ten years.

In 1960, census enumerators in every community across the face of the land took a good look at dwelling units which people call their homes and asked householders searching questions about each unit. And then they began to count.

The result of this latest, the 1960, count is a shocker. It showed that, of the total of 58 million units occupied by families and individuals, 15.6 million were substandard dwellings. These substandard dwelling units represented fully 27 percent of the nation's total housing supply.

Of these, some 3 million were dilapidated shacks, hovels and tenements. They should have been torn down long ago and replaced by decent, livable homes. An additional 8.3 million dwelling units were classified by the census as "deteriorating." At the very best, these units might be made habitable and fit for family living only by major repairs and drastic rehabilitation. In addition to these, there were also 4.3 million units considered structurally "sound" but lacking some or all of the essential plumbing facilities.

Revealing as they are, even these figures, however, do not give the whole picture of America's unmet housing needs. For example, the census has not yet published its findings on the extent of overcrowding. Yet, we know there are still large numbers of families who are living in overcrowded conditions or who are doubled up with other families, even though the dwellings they occupy may be considered sound.

BORIS SHISHKIN is secretary, AFL-CIO Housing Committee and a director of the National Housing Conference.

It seems, therefore, certain that at least 30 percent of American families are living in substandard homes today.

Merely to provide decent homes for these families represents, in itself, a tremendous challenge. But much more must be done if there are to be decent homes for today's ill-housed and, in addition, preparation for the tremendous population growth that lies ahead. Only a short fourteen years from now, by 1975, the population of the United States will have climbed to a total of 235 million.

This responsibility must be faced without further delay. It is urgent that the nation begins now to build each year a much greater number of homes than ever before. The task is to increase the volume to at least 2.3 million units a year and, by the end of this decade, to more than 2.5 million units annually. This is more than double the current rate of home construction.

Discrimination because of race in the access to good housing has intensified further the acute need for good homes on the part of many non-white families. Such discrimination has also aggravated the overall housing problem in the United States.

The preliminary findings of the 1960 census in this regard have been made available by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These findings reveal that half of all non-white renters and one in every three non-white families owning homes occupied units that lacked either a private toilet or bath or hot water or was reported as dilapidated.

The pressing need for fair distribution of the available housing supply was sharply pointed up by the facts disclosed by the census. They showed that, although housing occupied by non-white families and individuals constituted about 10 percent of all occu-

pied housing. 20 percent of the homeowner units lacking some or all plumbing facilities and more than 30 percent of rental units lacking such facilities were occupied by non-whites in 1960.

These figures also show something of the geography of discrimination in housing. Substandard housing occupied by non-white families and individuals was distributed unevenly over the nation. The South, for example, which accounts for about half of the 1960 non-white housing inventory units, had about three-fourths of the non-white housing which was dilapidated or lacked plumbing facilities. The Northeast had 9 percent, the North Central region, 11 percent and the West, 4 percent.

Wherever it may occur, discrimination because of race, creed or color is a major blight on the American housing scene. Healthy growth of a free society must be rooted in neighborhoods freely accessible to all. Insistence on fair housing practices in every community and every neighborhood is indispensable to the freedom of the people who live in them, it is essential in a nation embarked upon the historic task of leading a free world.

Nowadays people live longer. Consequently, there are more older people in our midst. Since the turn of the century, the number of people in America over 65 years of age has increased five-fold, outstripping by far the general population growth.

In 1960, there were about 17 million persons 65 and over in the United States. Scientific projections indicate that, by 1980, we will have 24.5 million in this age group.

In the midst of this rapid change, the patterns of living among our older people have also undergone far-reaching changes.

At present, one-third of the men and women 75 and over are married couples living in their own households. As much as one-fifth of the total age group are heads of their households but have no relatives living with them. And only 25 percent of the

age group are persons living in the household of others—mainly their adult children. Another striking fact is that only about 4 percent of those 75 and over are to be found living in institutions.

This evidence points up another special housing need emerging as one of great urgency in the 1960s. The plain truth is there is a housing shortage for senior citizens right now, a shortage that will be intensified unless sustained steps are taken to help provide and keep providing good, livable homes for the older Americans.

Programs devised to this end should take fully into account the facts that, after 65, far fewer people can find or keep jobs and the average income, even of the fulltime, year-round workers among them, is much lower than that of the younger age groups. Recent figures showed for the fulltime, year-round workers aged 65 and over a median income only about three-fourths that of the 55-64 age group.

There is solid evidence that, to face up to this problem, timely action should be taken to make more housing available to the elderly suitable for their special needs and within their means.

The recently enacted program of direct loans for housing is a welcome first step toward this objective. But additional programs are urgently needed, including allocation of sufficient units for the elderly of low income.

It is important, however, not to segregate the elderly in special projects or in separate neighborhoods, especially if they, themselves, would prefer not to be walled off from the rest of the community. Provision should, therefore, be made for suitable dwellings for the elderly at all income levels in all phases of the housing program.

In recent years our cities have been going through what may be called "the Bulldozer Revolution." The bulldozer, chewing out new highways, carving out new cloverleaf highway approaches and push-



ing over the walls of old slum dwellings, has been the symbol and the tool of development and growth.

As this growth surges on, the renewal that comes with it also means displacement to many. Too often it means humanity uprooted.

It seems unbelievable, but it is true, that neither the federal government nor anyone else has made any attempt to ascertain how many families or persons have been in the past—or will be in the future—

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Federal Housing Administrator, had this to say when questioned recently on the radio-television program, Meet the Press:

On special-type housing for the elderly—"I think that we have to have in many instances, particularly in our large cities, these small units which will be a part of a larger program and a larger development.

"I think there will be some places where you may have a complete building by itself for the elderly. But these we will have to experiment, we will have to try these out and we will have to learn as we do. But we certainly will not start out with an idea of putting them all off to themselves.

"... There is the fact the elderly do like to be near where young people are. They like to be near children, not necessarily in the same building with them."

On discrimination in housing—"I am in favor of action to make all housing open to everyone where there is any federal form of assistance involved. As to the timing of this, I think this is the responsibility of the President and of the Congress.

"... what I am talking about . . . is equal opportunity. I am talking about a legal system and a system of operation where nobody is denied participation on account of his race, creed or color in housing which gets public benefits."

On bulldozing slums and leaving poor families unhoused—"I think this is one area in which . . . we do have a big, bold program. In the first place, we are going to be very much concerned with stressing and pushing that type of urban renewal which does not involve the bulldozer approach primarily, stressing as we are rehabilitation . . . And . . . setting up in our own operations in FHA a more direct, a more sympathetic and a more efficient type of administration to deal with these problems. At the same time, we are having another new program which will for the first time give federal assistance to a program for middle-income housing . . . so we will have less displacement . . ."

forced to vacate their homes in the path of highway construction. Nor is it known exactly how many families have been—or will be—displaced from their homes by slum clearance and other urban redevelopment programs.

On the basis of available information, the best—and the most conservative—estimate is that over the next 15 years, 1 million American families will be displaced from their homes by interstate and other highway programs and by urban redevelopment programs.

First of all, there is a need for complete and accurate information about the plight of the families and the plight of small business enterprises located in structures about to be razed to make way for the new, and better, way of life.

Let the Department of Commerce and the national Housing and Home Finance Agency spread their fingers and start counting. Or, better still, let them plug in their modern automatic computers to run up the enormous totals of people displaced, or to be displaced, by the new surge of progress.

In any event, enough is known to recognize there is a job to be done and to be done without further delay. If we would take a closer look at the human problem involved in each situation, we would find the story of each displaced family to be a story of heartbreak and often of genuine and acute distress.

The first question that comes to the mind of people when they learn they simply must pull up their stakes and go is "where can we go? Where can we find another place to live?"

Most people who are confronted with this question are not well-to-do people. For the most part they are families who can barely make ends meet. More often than not they are slum dwellers, who have been disadvantaged and who live and raise families on a low income.

These men and women and their children are an important part of our American housing problem. To



meet this problem, proper provision should be made in the national housing program to make good homes available to families who are turned out on the street through no fault of their own.

Americans who have always responded with warmth and generosity to the needs of displaced persons from overseas will want their government to help redress the plight of Americans who become displaced persons right at home. And the most important means to do this is through a special provision for these displaced families in any national housing program.

It has been shown that, according to the 1960 census, three out of every ten American families are living in substandard homes.

It is also known that in the next fourteen years, between now and 1975, there will be 55 million more people in the United States for whom housing will be needed. In addition to this, it must be remembered there are shifts and changes in the distribution of the population, from city to city and from area to area. These shifts and changes are part of growth. They come inevitably in a dynamic society whose growth takes place under constantly changing conditions.

Americans are men and women on the move. When new opportunities call, they respond. When new workshops spring up, they are called to man them. To be able to respond, they need homes at the new locations.

The AFL-CIO has welcomed the Kennedy Administration's housing proposals as evidence of commitment to "a national effort" but said the need in some areas requires "a somewhat broader approach." Following are the main legislative proposals and labor's comments:

Urban renewal. President Kennedy, in his housing message, noted that 73 of 258 central cities lost population in the 1950s, with other trends continuing the erosion process. He said urban renewal must be "substantially reoriented from slum clearance and slum prevention into positive programs for economic and social regeneration." The Kennedy program asks Congress for \$2.5 billion for a four-year program, an average of \$625 million a year.

The AFL-CIO viewed this annual rate as "rock-bottom" and a four-year period as "much too short" considering the long lead-time needed for planning. The AFL-CIO urged Congress to raise the total to \$6.25 billion—the same annual rate but extended over a 10-year period. Labor favored other provisions under this title but urged the striking of a proposal to boost to 30 percent the proportion of urban renewal activity allowed for non-residential purposes. The original Housing Act of 1949 had no exception; this

At present, there is no accurate information and there are no reliable estimates of the number of people involved in the movement, the number which must be accounted for in order to determine their housing need. But it is safe to assume that between now and 1975, the number of people who will move and need new roofs over their heads will run into millions.

The exact extent of this additional need should be clearly established. Studies of mobility of residences in the United States should be undertaken by our federal government. Reliable estimates of the resulting future housing needs to accommodate the people involved should be developed.

Although there presently is no precise knowledge of the additional housing needed to accommodate mobility, there is a solid factual basis for determining the number of units needed to make good homes available to families now living in substandard dwellings. There also is a factual basis for determining the housing needed to accommodate the future population.

Taken together, all this evidence makes clear the goals of constructing at least 2.3 million units a year and, by the end of the decade, more than 2.5 million units annually, are extremely conservative.

The heart of the housing matter is people. That is why the kind of a national housing program that organized labor calls for and works for is one that is alive to the people's housing need.

was opened to 10 percent in 1954 and raised to 20 percent in 1959. An increase here would weaken the housing program, the AFL-CIO declared.

Low-income families. The Kennedy proposals ask authorization for 100,000 additional public housing units and funds for demonstration grants. This, said the AFL-CIO, is "not nearly enough." The AFL-CIO said 400,000 units should be built to complete the 810,000-unit goal of the Housing Act of 1949.

Moderate-income families. To aid those mainly in the \$5,000-\$6,000 income bracket, the Kennedy program would broaden on an experimental basis to any family the no-down-payment, 40-year mortgage now available only to families displaced by government action. The proposals also request \$750 million to finance long-term, low-interest rate loans for rental and cooperative housing.

The AFL-CIO criticized the financing request as "extremely inadequate." It noted the \$750 million requested would, taking an example of a very low average mortgage loan of \$10,000, cover only 75,000 units. Congress was urged to boost the total to \$3 billion and include housing for sale.

The Challenge Facing Central Labor Bodies

by Stanton E. Smith

The concept of federation—national, state or local—is grounded in the need for united, cooperative action among unions to achieve those objectives which do not readily lend themselves to the processes of collective bargaining. These can be summarized under three heads: legislation, political action and community relations. With respect to these activities, there is minimum legitimate ground for disagreement between unions. Here, there is a real unity of interest.

The average union member today tends to think of the great national and international unions as the starting point of the trade union movement. And in terms of the existing situation this is, in large measure, true. But in terms of historical development the early national and international unions were formed by, and grew out of, the local unions which had been spontaneously formed or which were organized by the city central labor unions. The central labor unions in turn had been formed by the existing local unions of their communities.

In this sense it could be said that the local union is the oldest form of labor organization in the United States and the city central labor union the second oldest. Early local unions tended to extend organization in two directions, one towards a national trade association (national or international union) and the other towards central labor unions (local and state federations).

The labor movement developed in many directions and in many ways. The currents of social ideas and new concepts of social organization which accompanied and grew out of the industrial revolution and its consequences pushed and pulled at the American worker, bidding him to follow the path of this or that social or political ideology. But in the end he followed the pragmatic path to achieve goals. His choice of organizational forms, programs and methods was dictated by results. Local problems required local organization. The central labor union was the logical answer.

William Maxwell Burke, in a book published by Columbia University in 1899 entitled "History and Functions of Central Labor Unions," pointed out



"the federation idea started in America as in England, not on a national basis, but with districts much smaller."

The AFL in its first constitution favored the organization of local unions and the closer federation of such unions through central unions, with the further combination of these bodies into state, territorial and provincial organizations and the establishment of national and international trade unions. This language gives emphasis to the disjointed and loose pattern of labor organization at that time. The development of central labor unions was so prominent a part of the labor scene at this period that several of them participated in issuing the call to the convention at which the AFL was founded. At least one state federation, New York, has a continuous record of existence which antedates the AFL.

Dr. Burke quotes from the preamble to the constitution of one of the "foremost central labor unions" of that period to illustrate the reasons for the formation of the early central labor unions:

"Whereas, it has been fully demonstrated by experience that unity of action and organization among working people are imperative and essential in order to combat the evergrowing encroachments of organized and consolidated capital and as there are many questions affecting the interests of the working classes which cannot be dealt with in special and separate Trade and Labor Unions and as that end can be best attained by a central labor organization through which all branches of labor may prove allies to any particular one that may be oppressed and all may form a Brotherhood for the defense and protection of the laboring masses; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the various Trade and Labor Unions here represented, do hereby form the Central Labor Union of for the purpose of organizing and concentrating the efforts of the working classes for their own mutual protection, education and social advancement."

An examination of the objectives of the central labor unions of the early period of the American labor movement presents a striking similarity to the objectives of their modern counterparts—the state and local central bodies: extension of organization, education, promotion of the labor press and the union label, non-partisan political action and legislation to protect

STANTON E. SMITH, past president of Tennessee State AFL-CIO, is Coordinator, State and Local Central Bodies, AFL-CIO.

the health and safety of workmen and to achieve social reforms of various kinds. The specifics have changed, but the underlying motivation and principles have not.

The Wagner Act's passage in 1935 marked the beginning of a new era in the American labor movement. Not only did it stimulate the greatest surge of labor organization in U.S. history, but it marked the beginning of the rise of the modern large and powerful national and international unions. Both craft and industrial unions grew in geometric ratio. Collective bargaining, together with organization, were the primary focus of activity and attention within the labor movement. The relative importance of the state and city or county federations was partially eclipsed by this development and by the growing dominance of the national and international union.

Restrictive and punitive legislation adopted under stress of World War II, followed by the passage of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947 and the so-called "right-to-work" laws which preceded and followed it, resulted in renewed emphasis on political action as the prerequisite for constructive legislation and for defense against the legislative onslaughts of labor's traditional enemies.

But political action is basically a "grass roots" operation, as is effective support for legislative proposals, either state or national. Frustration of legislative efforts and spasmodic political results have caused the AFL-CIO and many of its affiliated national and international unions to realize that maximum results in these fields and in the related activities of community relations will be greatly advanced by strengthening the state and local central labor councils so they, in turn, can give effective support to these essential programs. Coordination of legislative and political activities is just as essential at the state and local as at the national level.

Currently, the AFL-CIO has two major projects under way to strengthen the state and local central bodies: a national campaign to secure maximum affiliation of local unions with these branches of the AFL-CIO and the institution of a system of annual reports covering the basic kinds of information needed to secure a comprehensive picture of the existing situation and practices in the various central bodies. In the course of time, there will follow projects which will contribute to improving the programs and effectiveness of the councils.

Midway in the affiliation campaign, there is a clear indication of the extent and the seriousness of the affiliation problem with respect to state councils. A check has been completed on the locals of about half of the international unions in all states. More than 25,000 local unions have been checked. Of these, only slightly more than half were affiliated with their respective state councils. It is a poor record. More important, it represents a waste of strength and resources which the labor movement in these days of

legislative onslaught against us can ill afford. However, the picture has begun to improve. The international unions are increasingly aware of the problem and are supporting the efforts of the AFL-CIO to improve the situation. Affiliations are on the increase.

What results can the AFL-CIO rightfully expect from the strengthening of our central councils? What would it mean to labor's program to have 50 state councils operating at maximum strength with 850 local councils giving effective support to the goals we seek? What would it mean to the national and international unions? These are legitimate questions because no organization exists for its own sake, but only as it is a means to achievement of the purposes of its members and constituents.

Labor's legislative objectives are not expressed alone in terms of federal laws. Equally important are the enactments of state legislatures and local governing boards. So-called "right-to-work" laws, emasculation of unemployment insurance, neglect of workers' compensation are but three examples of adverse action in important areas of legislation at the state level. Operating budgets for schools, health departments and other public services are largely the domain of local government.

Obviously, in most cases these laws cannot be effectively influenced by each international union operating independently. The responsibility falls where it belongs, on the state and local central bodies to coordinate labor's efforts to achieve desirable objectives relative to such legislation and, equally important, it is through these organizations that we can secure adequate and proper administration of the laws which so vitally affect our members and the community.

Prerequisite to consistent legislative achievement is an effective program of political action. Here also labor's strength can either be dissipated by each union going its own way or it can be made effective through coordinated effort at the appropriate level.

This is not to deny the importance of the role of the national and international unions in legislative and political action, but rather to point up the necessity of achieving maximum results through strong councils, supported by the AFL-CIO and national and international unions. It is these councils which can mobilize labor's strength at the state and community levels where it counts when the chips are down. These are the agencies through which labor can make its program complete at all three levels of government, state and local as well as national.

Labor's public image is a composite of many factors. But the biggest factor can be the "close-up" view which results from assumption of community responsibilities by unions. Local unions can do much along this line, but a united effort is superior and will produce superior results. The community services program of the AFL-CIO revolves logically around the central body. It is precisely in this whole area

of community relations, with its manifold ramifications, that the central labor councils, state and local, have their greatest potential for altering the public's attitude and bringing about public understanding of labor's constructive contributions to our society.

Historically, the central bodies have been the agencies which have rallied the unions of a community for mutual aid and assistance in time of strikes, lock-outs and trouble. This is perhaps as much a matter of moral support as of material aid. Here too is a potential area of renewed and increased activity for all city centrals.

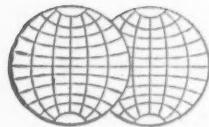
Promotion of the union label, shop card and button; extension and development of programs of labor education and expansion of the influence of a soundly based labor press should be part of what we can rightfully expect of central bodies receiving the sup-

port of all local unions in their jurisdictions.

Organizing the unorganized, still labor's number one goal, was a major central body activity, particularly of local central bodies, in the early years of the labor movement. The complexity of regulatory laws now places many stumbling blocks in the path of a local central body organizing committee, but the central body has an important function to serve in a supporting role to the organizing staff of the AFL-CIO and of the national and international unions. Here, too, we have a right to look for a reinvigorated program from stronger councils.

All this adds up to greater effectiveness and greater support for achievement of the program of the AFL-CIO. Increasing the strength of our state councils and local central bodies is a prerequisite to such an achievement.





Briefing Session

Informal moments before the program opens help to put the visiting panelists at their ease.



Topic: Africa. Panelists exchange views while host Edward P. Morgan, right, ponders his next question.

Most AFL-CIO members are aware by now the federation's current television venture is a half-hour public affairs program called "Briefing Session."

This series differs sharply from the organization's first approach to TV—the 15-minute "Americans at Work" films, which still can be seen on more than 170 stations and in many instances are being run for the second time. The difference involves more than actual content. It's something like the difference between a merry-go-round and a horse race.

Each "Americans at Work" film involved a specific occupation or product. Once the topic and the site were chosen, the camera crew would spend a week on location, taking perhaps six times as much film as the final product would require. This was sent back to Washington, edited to proper length and combined with music and narration.

"**Briefing Session,**" in contrast, is filmed—or, in technical terms, video taped—"live." There are no second chances. The cameras go into action at a given minute and they stop precisely 28½ minutes later. What they have seen and heard is the show—period.

Also, of course, "Briefing Session" is a strictly unrehearsed, catch-as-catch-can panel discussion, except for the first seven minutes during which the subject is defined. Subsequently its course is entirely unpredictable; the clock may be moving inexorably but a guest panelist, an authority in his own field who is accustomed to setting his own pace, is oblivious to it.

"Briefing Session" has been called "a public affairs

program with a difference." Unlike some panel shows, it tries to promote understanding rather than controversy—though controversy is neither unusual nor unwelcome.

Each program opens with a "briefing," from which the series gets its name. This comprises an impartial exposition of the question to be discussed—a narration, delivered by a seasoned television commentator, John MacVane and accompanied by whatever films or charts are necessary to make the facts clear and dramatic.

It also helps toward another goal of the series—avoiding entanglement in the headlines of the moment. Many public affairs programs are so dated by events that they are almost without value a week later. "Briefing Session," on the other hand, seeks to be topical rather than "timely" in the headline sense.

In consequence, "Briefing Session" programs have lasting value. Some television stations are only now starting to present the series; yet even the earliest units are unaffected by time. Because of this, prints are being made available through the AFL-CIO Depart-

ment of Education for showing to union and community audiences.

"Briefing Session" is neither a new program nor an AFL-CIO creation. It began two years ago, primarily through the efforts of the National Educational Television and Radio Center, the coordinating organization of some 50 non-commercial educational TV stations throughout the country.

Early this year the AFL-CIO took advantage of an opportunity to join with NET in presenting this series. The costs are equally divided and the series is produced by Joel O'Brien Productions, Inc., of New York City under the supervision of NET.

NET selected, with the hearty approval of the AFL-CIO, Edward P. Morgan as permanent host and moderator. Morgan, generally acknowledged the nation's No. 1 radio news commentator, was less well-known in television. But he has shown an outstanding ability to keep the panel discussions lively and pointed, while flavoring them with his own wide experience.

"Briefing Session" now can be seen on 67 television stations in 32 states and the District of Columbia.



"Briefing" by John MacVane, top left, uses charts and film as needed. Musical background is also employed; producer Joel O'Brien (seated, with jacket) discusses arrangements with aides, lower left. The apparent jumble of wires, lights and cameras, top right, somehow produces an orderly result when the program opens. But the control room, partly shown at lower right, crackles with tension from start to finish of the show.



Canada in Crisis: Unemployment and A New Party

by Clifford A. Scotton

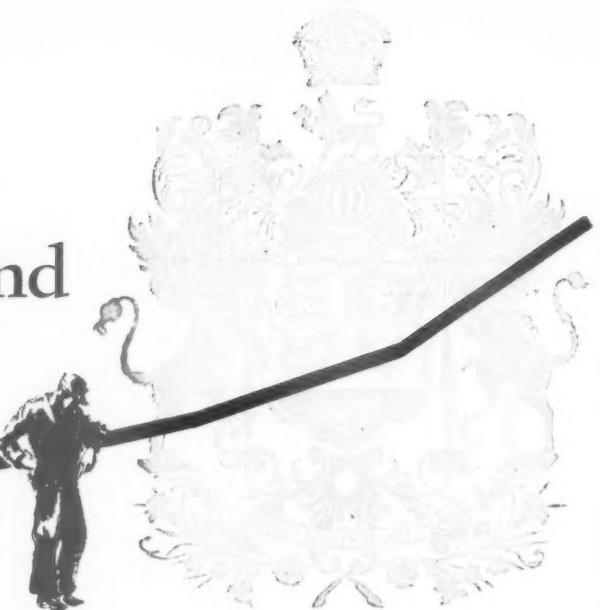
Spring has started to come to Canada, but this year it is unlikely to be the harbinger of a solution to Canada's unemployment problem. Normally the melting of the ice on lakes and rivers signals a temporary end to a large slice of Canada's problem of jobless workers. Seasonal employment cuts into unemployment totals and the problem is pushed into the background until the snow starts flying late in the fall.

Canada's biggest single domestic problem today is unemployment. At mid-February there were 719,000 Canadians looking for work, 11.3 percent of the nation's labor force. The situation is the worst experienced by Canada since the depression days of the "dirty Thirties."

The figures, in absolute terms, are serious enough in themselves. More serious for Canada, though, are the long-run implications of unemployment since the end of World War II.

During the past eleven years Canada has undergone three periods of recession. None was too serious in its overall effect and the Canadian economic situation closely paralleled that of the United States in the same period. Economic recovery following each of these recessions, however, has not been coupled with a corresponding recovery from unemployment. There has been a marked long-run tendency for chronic unemployment to rise.

After the 1949-50 recession, the level of unemployment fell back to 2.4 percent of Canada's labor force; after the 1953-54 recession it fell back to 3.4 percent and after the 1957-58 recession it fell back to 6 per-



cent. With new and unenviable unemployment records being set during the current economic recession, it is being freely predicted that the post-recession pool of chronically unemployed will grow still larger.

The situation is such that it appears a hard core of jobless Canadian workers is faced with the prospect of never again having a permanent job. If the present trend of unemployment continues, it is certain that this group will grow in size unless some remedial action is taken.

The changing structure of the labor force, climatic conditions, technological change, regional characteris-

January, 1961. The unemployed find shelter from a cold winter night at the Fred Victor Mission in Toronto.



CLIFFORD A. SCOTTON is editor and manager of *Canadian Labor*, official journal of the Canadian Labor Congress.

tics
a p
me
em
Th
pro
Co
dus
T
sto
Pr
fall
inc
at
8.6
per
job
C
Can
cem
with
lic
gov
lion
new
In
cha
me
thei

The
new
of g
mee
and
econ
Mar
the c
tan

Wa
Bay,

tics and education and training levels have all played a part in producing today's heavy toll of unemployment. For instance, more than two-thirds of the unemployed have only an eighth grade education or less. The decline in the coal industry has hit the Atlantic provinces hard while the west coast province of British Columbia is dogged with a recession in the forest industry and a severe slump in construction.

The regional unemployment percentages tell the story across the country. Only the non-industrial Prairie region and the industrial heartland of Ontario fall below the national average. In the Atlantic provinces, 18 percent of the labor force was seeking work at mid-February; in Quebec, 14.5 percent; Ontario, 8.6 percent; Prairies, 7.1 percent; Pacific region, 13.9 percent. More than one in four Newfoundlanders are jobless.

Grim reminders of the 1930s are returning to the Canadian scene. Relief rolls in Ontario during December 1960 were 29 percent above a year earlier, with the full effects of unemployment hardly felt. Public Welfare Minister Louis P. Cecile anticipates that government welfare expenditures will jump \$21 million during the recently completed fiscal year to a new high of \$96 million.

In Canadian cities "soup lines" are growing at charitable missions. Welfare organizations, unable to meet present needs with present income, are lowering their appeal targets and still are not reaching them.

The Canadian Labor Congress has urged a "big, new, massive push" to achieve a 5 percent annual rate of growth in the national economy which is needed to meet the long-run, chronic unemployment situation and keep the jobless level below 3 percent. A research economist for the Canadian Senate Committee on Manpower and Employment clearly established the economy has not been growing fast enough "simultaneously to absorb additional labor force members

Waiting. Workers in hard-hit mining community of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia outside National Employment Office.



and to provide the number of new jobs necessary to reduce unemployment to pre-recession levels."

Private capital cannot or will not provide this impetus to the economy, says the CLC, so what is needed is "a big, new, massive expansion in the public sector of the economy." This does not mean a temporary make-work program, however.

"What the Congress proposes is a long-term expansion of our social capital, of our public services, of investment in development of our human capital. There is room for a big and sustained increase in expenditures on health, education, child welfare, low-rental housing, slum clearance and conservation of natural resources."

The CLC has not suggested that expansion of the public sector be made at the expense of the private sector. "What we want is a much bigger and steadily increasing total and a great expansion of the public sector as a means, and the only visible means, of achieving that increased total." It points out, further, that expansion in the public sector will mean, also, expansion in the private sector through the multiplier effect.

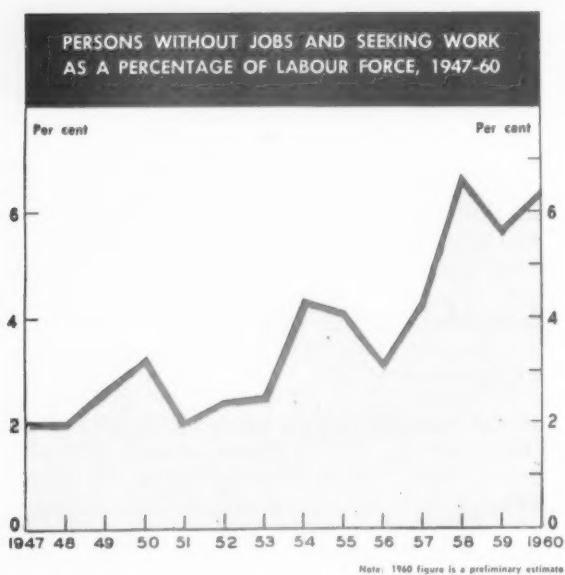
Such a program could be financed by a certain amount of temporary deficit financing, the federation suggests. "How much? Enough to restore full employment."

The Conservative government of Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker has taken halting, piecemeal steps to do something about unemployment. It has approved assistance to winter works programs ("Why wait for Spring, do it now"), attempted to stimulate home construction through helping make mortgage money more freely available and it has made some effort to stimulate vocational training and retraining.

However, much of the energies of the government and its spokesmen have been directed to denying opposition criticism that a serious unemployment situa-

Emergency aid. Unemployed line up to collect jobless pay at the Winnipeg unemployment insurance office.





tion exists or attempting to minimize the extent of unemployment that does exist. Critics of the government in this regard have been categorized as "prophets of doom" with the government and its press supporters apparently operating on the theory that if unemployment is not talked about, it will go away. Bold, decisive action to meet the national emergency has been ignored.

A Conservative Canadian daily suggests that "the Diefenbaker Government deserves praise, not criticism, for resisting pressure to launch a huge make-work program or to turn the money-printing presses loose." Even this staunch supporter of the government felt constrained to add that "It (the government) has perhaps been too hesitant in dealing with the fundamental problems. . . ."

This is a long-run problem of unemployment. What about shorter-term policies? The CLC has adopted a comprehensive, 26-point program of action by governments at the federal, provincial and municipal levels, by employers and by unions. Immediate measures call for tax reductions and a drive by unions for improved wages and benefits, with stress on collective agreement clauses designed to stabilize employment and lessen the impact of unemployment.

The government's coolness towards labor's proposals in the vital field of unemployment reflects its basic conservative approach to economic matters. Its growing coolness towards labor generally is a reflection of its concern over the decision of organized labor to back the formation of a new political party.

Next July 31 a funding convention in Ottawa will establish the New Party (a temporary tag applied to this political phenomenon). The party was proposed by the 1958 CLC convention to provide "a broadly-based people's political movement" as "an effective, alternative political force based on the needs of

workers, farmers and similar groups, financed and controlled by the people and their organizations." The major groups which will participate in the Party's formation are: the CLC; the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), Canada's democratic socialist party; New Party club members and farmers, university personnel and other liberally-minded persons.

No single issue during the past two decades has generated as much interest in the Canadian trade union movement as the New Party proposal. Political action has given a new strength to participation in the affairs of the labor movement. Professor Richard Lester of Princeton University advances the thesis that the labor movement is middle-aged and institutionalized. If organized labor is to expand, it must have new challenges and new goals, he says. It seems quite probable that if Professor Lester's thesis is a valid one, the New Party will help in a resurgence of Canadian labor.

Those unions traditionally supporting the Gompers principle of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" are no less enthusiastic than their counterparts who have been involved in partisan political action in their participation in this political venture. Increasingly, there has come about the realization that while the Gompers principle may work under the congressional system, it has limited value under the parliamentary system of party caucus solidarity. A legislator may be labor's "friend" but if his party is not labor's friend and his party's policies are not favorable to labor, the aid and comfort the individual can give to labor in the legislative field is virtually nil.

There have been a number of recent incentives for Canadian labor to become actively involved in politics behind a party of its own choosing and of its own making. The backwash of the misdemeanors of a handful of labor leaders and the hearings of the McClellan Committee have been used by labor's opponents to smear the Canadian trade union movement.

In the poor public attitude towards labor which has resulted, the introduction of anti-labor legislation with a measure of public support has been relatively simple. In more than half of Canada's ten provinces and in the federal Parliament laws restricting labor have been introduced or placed on the statute books. The latest measure, applying to British Columbia, will forbid the dues check-off by law if any part of dues is voted by union members to support the political party of their choice. In the same province only two years ago, an anti-labor law was approved which enshrines the principle of guilt until innocence is proved—a "first" for any commonwealth nation.

The increasing importance of the legislative chamber, as opposed to the bargaining table, in determining many of labor's rights and duties, is becoming increasingly obvious to Canadian unionists. If we are attacked on the legislative front and if many of our goals may only be obtained through legislation, they

say, then we must work in the field of politics.

Success of the New Party is hard to predict. One good omen has, however, already appeared. In October 1960, nearly nine months before the New Party was due to be born, it elected its first member to Parliament when a young high school teacher with strong labor backing won a federal by-election. The goodwill for the New Party which exists outside the labor movement and the solid support that is being built within the movement for the party, augurs well for its eventual success.

Few people in the Canadian labor movement feel the New Party will be the panacea for all national

ills. The Canadian Labor Congress has declared it must reserve the right to criticize or applaud the actions of any government, regardless of its political complexion. It will voice its criticisms with equal vigor whatever type of government is in office. It is likely, however, that the proposals of the Canadian labor movement will be given greater consideration in determining Canada's national and international policies under a New Party government than at present.

A party committed to the general principles and policies of the labor movement could do much to ensure that unemployment, 1960-61 style, is banished from Canada.

The Modern South: Organized Labor's New Frontier

by Robert B. Cooney



The South today remains a "new frontier" for organized labor, even though 80 years have passed since the first organizing campaigns in the region.

But the South then and the South now are worlds apart. Since World War II, the South has burst ahead of other regions in its rate of economic and population expansion. Under the impact of industrialization and urbanization and with the infusion of national cultural influences through the mass media, the South rapidly is becoming like the rest of the country.

With these pervasive changes, the preconditions for unionization are being created. And there have been rumblings.

"We're starting to see some fresh interest for the first time in years," an AFL-CIO regional director commented recently. "There seems to be a different feeling growing up—more willingness to talk union in most of the industries. Most, that is, except textiles. It's the same old rough fight there."

This statement makes the point, draws the distinction. For if the American South has been referred to as a "country within a country" to set the area off as unique, it also is true there are many Souths.

ROBERT B. COONEY is an assistant editor, AFL-CIO News.



The Old South. Progress has left obsolete plants down by the old mill stream, symbols of an industry of the past and a passing social structure.

In the wake of a devastating Civil War, with the plantation system destroyed, the ruling groups in the cotton-growing South decided they could maintain their supremacy only by seizing the initiative from the North. They feared all that genuine emancipation promised and, in desperate bootstrap efforts, as W. J. Cash relates in "The Mind of the South," an area stripped of capital had by the turn of the century built 400 cotton mills and founded a school system. It was, as Cash says, a "crusade" or "folk movement" whose driving motive was not profit but to provide poor whites "an escape from competition with the blacks."

The mills, he wrote, were built without regard to business principles and were headed by lawyers, teachers, planters and even clergymen. The paternalism of the plantation was brought over into the mill towns. And so it was that generations of southerners

spent their lives in an insulated atmosphere in which they knew only the textile mill and the satellites of the mill village, the mill school, the mill store, the mill church and, finally, the mill cemetery.

If the cotton textile villages were so insulated from the mainstream of American life and so resistant to unionization, it was not much less so in towns dominated by large individual plants.

Unions are not new to the South, however. Many strong locals date back to the last century. There long has been unionization in the South in such industries as construction, railroad, printing and in such government operations as schools and post offices. In the sphere of industrial unions, in recent decades there have been strong southern locals in steel, auto, rubber, mining and communications. Unionization



Modern plants have mushroomed during postwar years at Decatur, Alabama, hard by the Tennessee River.

Sou
Indu

has
activ
petiti
been

If
of un
mean

TH

2.3
union
in 19
Inc.
Bure
East
Cent
and

The
sas,
every
betw
mem
al av
rose

So
prop
ized.
in 19
was
ever,

MAY



Southern industry has been growing in size, as witness this paper manufacturing complex at Calhoun, Tennessee. Industry throughout the region has been developing in diversified fashion as well, though the pace varies state to state.

has been more easily established in the higher-wage activities, especially in the more stable and less competitive industries where northern-based contracts have been utilized to narrow southern differentials.

If the South far trails the rest of the nation in degree of unionization, its trade union membership is by no means insignificant.

The entire South had a total union membership of 2.3 million as of 1953—14.5 percent of total U.S. union membership—according to a study published in 1957 by the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. The South's total takes in the three Census Bureau areas of the South Atlantic (1.1 million), the East South Central (560,000) and the West South Central states (665,000), a region covering 16 states and the District of Columbia.

The West South Central area—made up of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas—outstripped every other area of the nation in the gains recorded between 1939 and 1953. The area boosted its union membership by 221.4 percent, compared to the national average of 148.8 percent as total union membership rose from 6.5 million to 16.2 million.

Southern states, however, still lag far behind in the proportion of the non-farm labor force which is organized. North Carolina, for example, trailed the nation in 1953 with 8.3 percent organized. South Carolina was a notch higher, at 9.3 percent. Alabama, however, boosted its union membership from 16 percent

in 1939 to 25 percent by 1953. Louisiana doubled its proportion, from 9.6 percent in 1939 to 19.5 percent in 1953. Overall, the South is roughly about 17 percent unionized.

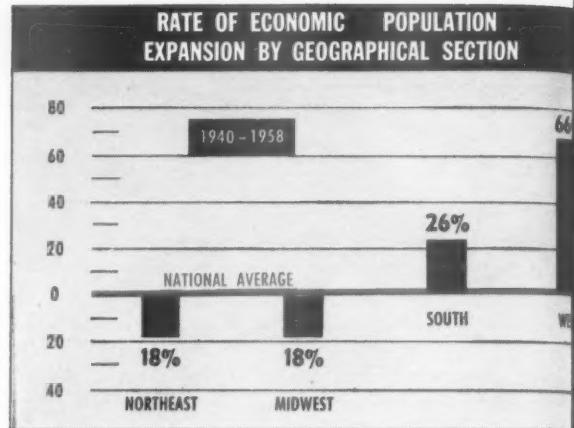
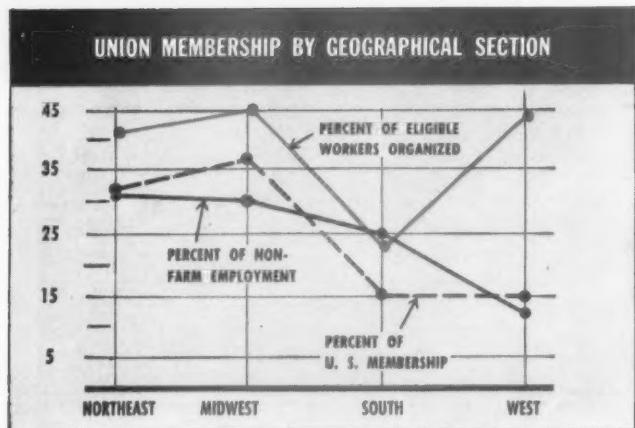
For the nation as a whole, the non-farm workforce was 21.5 percent organized in 1939 and 32.6 percent union by 1953. Washington was the best organized state in 1953, with 53.3 percent of its non-farm workforce unionized. Michigan had 43.3 percent organized and New York had 34.4 percent.

Union membership in the South made inroads into fresh territory with the backing of the Wagner Act, it swelled under the War Labor Board during World War II when the government determined contract terms and it grew in the immediate postwar period.

If the 1950s saw little in the way of systematic large-scale organizing campaigns, there were a number of understandable reasons; there were many complicating factors which might not have been too apparent at the time.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, speaking before the first AFL-CIO national organizing conference in January 1959, recalled the merger raised great hopes that labor could pursue its No. 1 objective—"to organize."

But labor found major obstacles, he recalled, citing the impact of the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision on the South, the widely-publicized McClellan Committee hearings and economic recessions.



Of the Supreme Court decision, Meany said that "in every organizing campaign beginning in 1956 and for some time . . . this decision and the attitude of the trade union movement in endorsing it and standing firm on our policy of non-discrimination has been used by the employer time and again in the South to defeat organizing efforts.

"It would be ridiculous to say that we have not been hindered by this obstacle. This thing has hurt, not to the extent that those in opposition to us had hoped, but it did hurt."

If the South has been making such rapid economic advances through the postwar period, the characteristics peculiar to the region generally should not be underestimated.

For certainly, the employers who moved South or decentralized to that area in response to the promise of a "dependable, homogeneous labor supply" or the simple fact of lower wages are most likely to be formidable organizing targets. And the community forces which make such appeals to attract new payrolls will prove to be loyal allies in resisting union campaigns. For they have in common what they feel are mutual benefits, for the time being at least.

And what provides a vested interest in an anti-union—or at least a non-union—operation is the fact that so many communities have provided runaway employers with the most modern, air-conditioned, one-story plants either free or with very lenient "tax advantages." In such a situation, a union which holds out the promise of a better life for workers through higher wages and better conditions of employment represents to a runaway employer higher payroll costs and to community leaders a threat to new industry.

While this economic context is basic in the opposition constructed by community forces to unionism, the public or expressed opposition takes forms which reflect the fact that the South's ruling groups have been white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and paternalistic.

Thus, the activity of union organizers causes a rallying of a town's officials, police, merchants, min-

isters, teachers and newspaper editor. The alarm is sounded against this "invasion" from the North or this threat of "alien" or "foreign" influences. A more current theme is to warn that "unionism is the brain-child of Godless Communism and seeks to gain power at the expense of the worker, drain him of his money and revolutionize the country." Religious bigotry has been used whenever and wherever it might be felt to be effective.

And, since the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, the fears and uncertainty which accompany the changing of any long-established social patterns have been exploited in the area of labor relations. Local customs do overlay the behavior of trade unions no less than other local groups. But it is the nature and promise of unionism which are caught up in and, indeed, help produce the region's stress of change. Observers agree this makes organizing extremely difficult in southern plants and it will be hard to win the vital support of Negro workers until southern labor itself gives higher priority to the ideal of equal opportunity.

Cutting through the rhetoric, what the various forms of expressed opposition to unions mean is that labor in effect is challenging the status quo. Organized labor thus must contend with a prevailing attitude and must understand it as a first step.

The main outlines of the South's attitude toward trade unions were pointed up by a public opinion study carried out a few years ago. The survey team interviewed three groups—workers, mostly unorganized; employers and merchants; community leaders—in ten communities in seven southern states.

The study reported the workers interviewed were "uprooted farm people, with insecurity, accentuated by varying degrees of social isolation their chief characteristic."

The report asserted this insecurity and lack of social organization "encourages dependence on the employer and promotes fear of any change."

"When induced to talk about unions," the report

continued, "they often described organizers as outsiders—agitators who arrive, conduct a campaign, stir up local troublemakers, make promises, collect dues and then disappear leaving the workers to cope with an antagonized employer."

Yet, the report noted, few of the workers interviewed admitted having seen or talked to a union organizer or having any direct experience with a union. It must be concluded, the report said, that they had accepted the stereotypes painted for them by management.

As for community leaders and businessmen, the report went on, the interviews indicated they seemed "committed to a low-wage policy." These people, the report said, "appear convinced that payrolls—any kind of payroll—comprise the solution to their local problems." Hence, anything which interferes with or threatens the payroll "is to be fought and defeated, with no holds barred." The report pointed out those interviewed had had little face-to-face contact with union leaders and almost no knowledge of union operations. Where there had been such contact, the attitudes "were almost always more favorable."

Against this background, it can be seen that representatives at various levels of government could be expected to be inclined in favor of a non-union or open shop situation or, where a union "threatened," in favor of restrictive legislation. Thus, the local community might have an ordinance restricting union activity; the state would have its so-called "right-to-work" law and southern support would be strong for such federal actions as the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act. Needless to say, such "disruptions" as higher minimum wage or stronger civil rights legislation would be opposed.

The Taft-Hartley Act has provided southern anti-union employers with a variety of weapons with which to hamstring and destroy unions. It is easy to defeat a union organizing campaign, for example, by knowingly committing unfair labor practices in firing local union leaders. With the possible delays built into the law, an employer has a year or two before being found guilty. By that time, with the labor surplus which has been available in much of the South as agriculture has mechanized, the employer could quite easily have replaced his workforce. In short, justice delayed is justice denied.

The same factor of an available labor surplus has enabled the anti-union southern employer to replace strikers and, since economic strikebreakers were allowed to vote under Taft-Hartley, it was not difficult to oust a newly-established union. This was labeled a "union-busting" provision of Taft-Hartley by Candidate Eisenhower in 1952; it was modified by Landrum-Griffin to allow strikers to vote within a year of a strike. How it operated previously was shown at Winchester, Virginia, where employees of the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation picked the Rubber Workers Union by a 343 to 2 vote. The union shortly thereafter

went on strike; a year later, with strikebreakers voting, the union was ousted by a 288 to 5 vote. However, unions expect a much more sympathetic administration of labor policy from Washington on down will ease many difficulties.

But observers agree, backed up with the personal experiences of union veterans who boast of strong and militant unions in various parts of the South, that the South can be organized even in the face of employer and community opposition and hostile legislation.

Professor Ray Marshall of Louisiana State University, who has followed labor's activity over the years from a southern vantage point, discussed the problem and offered an appraisal in the current *Anti-Och Review*.

"... industrializing the South will not automatically lead to greater unionization," Marshall wrote. "Much depends upon where the industrialization takes place. Unionism is most likely to be established in large plants of high-wage industries which are highly unionized in the non-South and least likely to be established in small, low-wage plants in competitive industries."

In noting variations in the extent of unionization, Marshall pointed out that over half the non-farm workers in Bogalusa, Louisiana, were unionized compared to about one-fifth in New Orleans. "In Bogalusa, the big Crown-Zellerbach paper mill is unionized, as are other industrial workers, school teachers, dairy farmers, restaurant and laundry workers and the construction trades."

Marshall came to these tentative conclusions:

"... unions can expect to make little headway among the South's industrial workers until: (1) the conditions of agricultural workers improve to the point where industrial jobs are no longer attractive at prevailing wage rates; (2) industrialization 'soaks up' labor displaced from agriculture but which has not left the region; (3) a generation of industrial wage earners emerges which is dissatisfied with current conditions; and (4) the labor movement overcomes its internal problems and shows some willingness to make the sacrifices and adopt the strategy necessary to organize the South.

"Even when these things happen, unions will continue to encounter impediments associated with the structure of industry and inherent employer opposition; but they will encounter less resistance from workers, the public and themselves.

"The trends suggest that unions will grow in the South with industrialization, but that unionization is by no means inevitable and that it will be a long time before the South is as well organized as the non-South."

What about the rumblings? More than one union veteran in the area has sensed them.

"I don't mean in textiles—that's always going to be hard, no matter what happens," said one union leader.

"But in chemicals, wood, some clothing and in the hotel field, especially, things are starting to move."

Norris of Nebraska: People's Advocate

by Roscoe Fleming

He was a stocky man in a bowtie and a worn business suit, one of the last you'd pick out in any crowd as its great one. In later years his left eyelid drooped slightly, giving him a bit of a sinister look.

But there never was an American more forthright and honest in defense of the interests of the plain people of whom he never ceased to be one. By many, he is regarded as the greatest U.S. senator in point of actual service to the nation and to its people. He was of course George William Norris—"Norris of Nebraska."

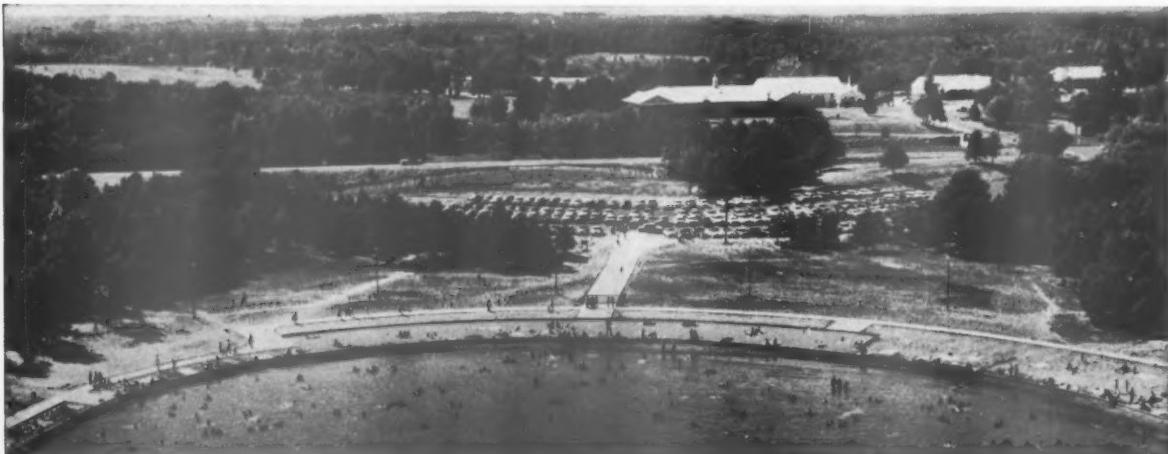
President Franklin D. Roosevelt called Norris "the very perfect, gentle knight of American progressive ideals" whose life was an "able and heroic fight on behalf of the average citizen." Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, rated at the top of the present Senate by political scientists, ranked Norris as "the noblest of them all—incorruptible, persistent, high-minded and unselfish."

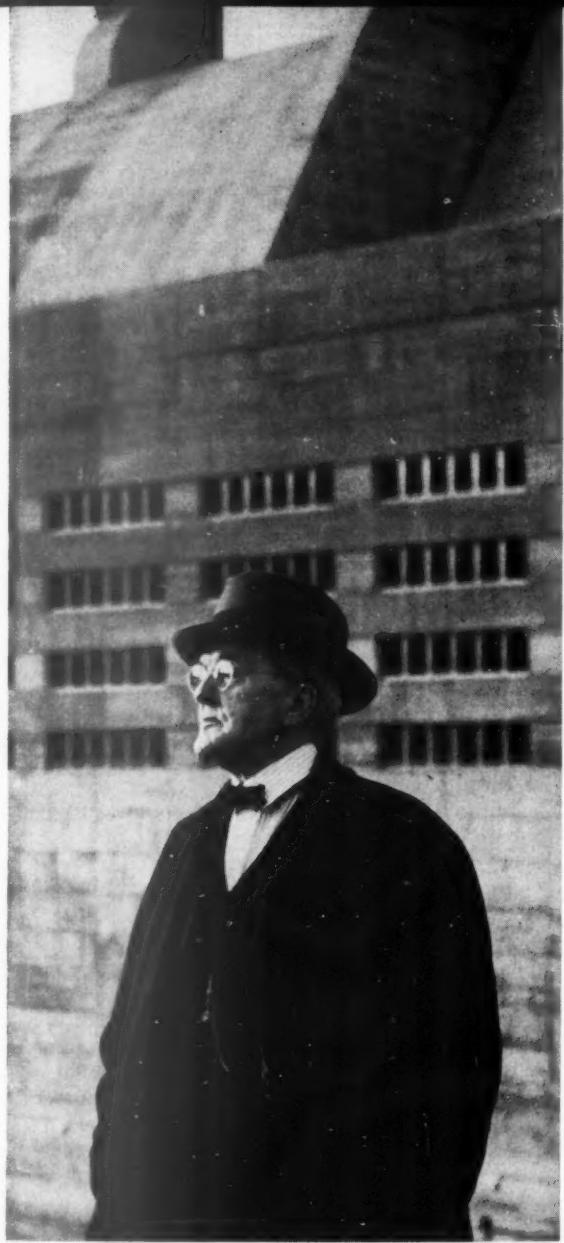
Soft-spoken, sad rather than angry at the incessant revelations of chicanery in high places which he encountered, he "hated the sin rather than the sinner."

But possibly because he, like other battlers for the people, stirred up passions and prejudices that have never subsided, his centenary this year is being virtually ignored by what was his own party for many years—the Republican—and by the commercial press.

ROSCOE FLEMING has written extensively on natural resources, conservation and labor matters. He appears regularly in the Christian Science Monitor, the Denver Post and the labor press.

Kentucky Dam Village State Park. TVA's chain of lakes—built for navigation, flood control and generation of power—also provides ample recreational facilities. TVA reports 40 million person-day use of recreation facilities annually.





Senator George W. Norris, champion of public power, stands before Norris Dam, the first to be built by TVA.

allowed any more" like it.

Not that Norris' career was wholly in the realm of resource development. Any one of a half-dozen of his achievements would have been enough to bring enduring fame to any one man.

In the field of labor, he and Fiorello La Guardia together were responsible for the Norris-La Guardia Act which outlawed the yellow-dog contract and sharply limited the use of injunctions in labor cases.

He also was the principal champion, along with a young congressman from Texas named Sam Rayburn, of what became the Rural Electrification Act under Franklin D. Roosevelt. REA brought 2,000,000 American farms into the light and warmth of modern

electrical development from the old dismal "wash-board and oil lantern days."

To him it is largely due that his native state of Nebraska is the only state-wide public power province in the nation, with all its people served at cost by their own power plants and transmission lines.

Due also to him is the 20th Amendment, which abolished the old, absurd, "lame duck" session of Congress. All but students of political science have forgotten that a full session of Congress, peopled perhaps by a hundred or more "lame ducks" repudiated by the voters the previous November, once intervened before a new President took office in March, all with a supreme opportunity for trades and deals of which many such members took advantage. Now the new Congress and President go into office almost at the same time in January. A "lame duck" is now through when he's beaten, barring a special post-election session of the retiring Congress.

Norris' influence was also responsible for Nebraska's people approving its one-house legislature; so far the only one among the states, though most cities and six Canadian provinces have it.

And finally, he first came to national notice in 1910 as the courageous young congressman who broke "Czar" Joe Cannon's supreme rule as Speaker of the House. Cannon wielded more power there than any other man who ever lived. Bills came to a vote or died as he dictated.

Norris carried around in his pocket until it was almost dog-eared the resolution that transferred some of this power to the Rules Committee. As we have seen, this committee, or its present head, likewise grew to abuse it until there was a re-transfer of power recently. But Norris' step, for his time, was a long one toward orderly conduct of the public business.

His one big failure was in a long but unavailing battle to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting for President and Vice President. But this may yet come about.

The TVA, however, vies with rural electrification as among the most important of his achievements—Norris himself, he told me late in his life, thought the latter might be the lasting one.

And TVA was the product of a successive series of slim chances, which put together remind one of the almost impossible odds of a many-horse parlay.

In the first place, when long-distance electrical power transmission became possible around the turn of the century, the nation's power companies became very busy getting possession of power sites by "little local bills" which slipped through Congress through the assiduity of local congressmen and were signed almost as a matter of course by the complaisant McKinley.

When the young and vigorous T.R. succeeded McKinley, he became aware of this abuse and decided to end it. It so happened that the next bill of this type that came to him concerned an obscure spot

called Muscle Shoals. Cries of outrage rent the air when he vetoed this giveaway, but the veto stood and Muscle Shoals remained in public hands.

Then when World War I broke out, it was one of a dozen sites under consideration for a government plant to make nitrogen explosives from the air. Muscle Shoals promised so much of the necessary power that it was chosen and a power plant was begun.

Then after World War I, it was the objective of one giveaway—or takeaway—campaign after another. Henry Ford wanted it to make fertilizer, backed by the American Farm Bureau Federation and others. The private power industry wanted it to make power.

Again it was characteristic of Norris that he was not originally much interested in public power as such and was rather against the fertilizer legislation being referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of which he was chairman.

But the more he looked into the whole proposition, the more his indignation grew. On half-a-dozen occasions he, Judson King of the National Popular Government League and a few others, withheld virtually the whole weight of the Harding-Coolidge Administrations and their allies who were so eager to get their hands on the mighty potential of the Tennessee River.

Then Norris and his allies took the offensive. They worked mightily and got one bill through to create a government corporation to develop the great river valley. Calvin Coolidge, in office by that time, quietly stuck it in his pocket. Congress expired and the bill died.

Then it was Herbert Hoover's turn. Full of virtuous indignation and private power philosophy, he vetoed a Norris-backed TVA bill as socialistic and because, he said, the inept federal government couldn't possibly run such an enterprise efficiently.

It must to Norris have seemed like the rosy dawn after a long dark night when Franklin Roosevelt came to the presidency. And when Roosevelt at long last signed the act creating the TVA, he passed back over his shoulder to Norris, of all the men standing around to celebrate, the pen with which he signed it.

Norris' fight for TVA and for the public generally had long since put him out of favor with the Republi-

can hierarchy—though indeed he was only one of several western Republican senators who were called "sons of the wild jackass" by an outraged senatorial henchman of big business from New England.

In fact, in 1930 he was the designated victim of one of the queerest and most odorous little plots in American political history. A young Nebraska grocer named George W. Norris was entered against the great senator in the state Republican primary. Had both names remained on the ballot it would have voided the election since none could tell, including the voters, for which George W. Norris they had balloted.

The grocer was successfully barred, however. Later it was disclosed that none other than the then Republican national chairman had hatched the plot, on the ground that "Norris was really a Democrat!"

And later of course Norris left the party and won re-election for his last term as an independent, being repudiated and defeated still later in his old age by a Nebraskan whose conscience has apparently itched ever since.

Norris' interest in labor and his championship of the Norris-La Guardia Act came about in a way almost as fortuitous as in the case of TVA.

In the Republican primary of 1926 in Pennsylvania, Norris had spoken statewide in behalf of the candidacy of his fellow conservationist and progressive, Gifford Pinchot, against the notorious "Boss" Vare, who won but was later denied the Senate seat. Norris returned and stumped for the Democratic candidate, William B. Wilson, who came within an ace of winning.

In the back reaches of the Pennsylvania coal country, Norris saw such sights of the inhumane treatment of workingmen by the Pennsylvania coal barons as to set him to boiling. He recalls in his autobiography seeing a bitter epitaph in a country churchyard written, so it was said, by the man who lay beneath:

"For 40 years beneath the sod,
With pick and spade I did my task,
The coal king's slave; but now, thank God,
I'm free at last."

Those were the days when labor organizers were

The Tennessee Valley before TVA: worn people and eroded land. Where 97 percent of the Valley's farms were without electricity in 1933, today they are 97 percent electrified. A region and its people have been rejuvenated.



greeted at almost every turn by "yellow-dog" injunctions granted almost automatically by complaisant judges in pursuance of the national open shop plot called the "American Plan." It was the precursor of the "right-to-work" campaigns of today.

Norris got as angry as he always did at injustice. He embarked on a long, hard campaign to outlaw the injunction, aided by the brilliant, ebullient Fiorello La Guardia in the House—later to become New York City's great mayor.

This legislation likewise was opposed by both the Coolidge and Hoover Administrations and it is said that Hoover finally signed it into law only because both houses had passed it by majorities large enough to override a veto.

None of his many fights ever promised anything for Norris save trouble and enemies with long memories.

What therefore was his motive? Well, in this writer's judgment and I think in the opinion of almost everyone who ever knew him it was just plain empathy—the ability to clothe oneself in the other fellow's skin and to feel, not merely to understand, his sufferings.

If ever an American came up the hard way, as significantly as did Abraham Lincoln, it was Norris.

He was born July 11, 1861, on a hillside farm in Ohio. His father died when little George was four and he never knew anything thereafter but hard work shared by his mother and seven sisters. He worked, worked, worked. He got through "common school" and managed to finish the law course at what is now Valparaiso University in Indiana, a "poor boys' college" where room and board were \$1.60 a week, but the \$1.60 was to be had only by long hours of toil.

Then he went to Washington State and taught school for a year, bunking in a big box which he built himself and filled with straw. Over the youthful years he had become a crack shot. Once, though a teetotaler, he was in a saloon and a gang of the boys at the bar tried to force "the schoolmarm to have a drink." As Norris relates the episode a cold, deadly, irresponsible rage came over him, he reached for the pistol in his pocket and threatened to shoot anyone who tried it. The ringleader grinned sheepishly and said: "Well, boys, I guess the schoolmarm doesn't have to have a drink."

After that the tenderfoot got along well, but just the same he abandoned the frontier the next year, came back as far as Nebraska, where his family had already moved and worked into the practice of law and later into a district judgeship. He served for seven years before the district's Republican leaders began looking around for a nice, upright, popular young man to run for Congress.

Norris was all of that and for a term or two, that was all he was. But there was a born leader's baton in his knapsack and as I've said, he never stopped growing.

Socialist Unions Moving Toward Welfare State

by David J. Sapoos



The **undercurrent of change** which has swept through the democratic international labor movement in recent times has eroded the historical attachments of the main western-oriented trade union groups. Both those who had been attached to European Marxian socialism and those with other political and economic traditions have been developing new policies and programs which reflect a shift to a welfare state approach.

It is true that evidences of tacit change date back a long time. But recently these adaptations of ideology to change are being revealed in altered or even completely rewritten programs. This has been a development which has been characteristic not only of socialist parties but also of other parts of the labor movement.

The powerful labor movements of some of the most important countries, traditionally committed to Marxian socialism, were the first to make what amounted to revolutionary ideological program changes. From a position of total commitment they unequivocally dissociated themselves from the historic Marxian philosophy.

The Dutch Socialist party in 1957 initiated the change, an action followed by the Austrian and German socialist parties in drastically reworking their programs. And now the British Labor Party, which was never a Marxist movement in the continental sense, is convulsed with discussion over program modifications, in the wake of the third consecutive electoral victory of the Tories.

This intellectual arousal also has penetrated to the Socialist International level, which has begun consideration of the question at its recent gatherings. The non-socialist part of the democratic labor movement also is affected by the same problem. These unprecedented manifestations can be best understood by conservatively reviewing ideological changes in the international labor movement as a whole.

Historically, Marxian socialism was the ideological orientation of the dominant labor movements of Eu-

DAVID J. SAPOOS has written on international labor developments for some 30 years. This article is based on a larger work aided by a grant from the Penrose and Johnson Funds of the American Philosophical Society.

rope. The labor movements of most of the world followed their lead, with those of the United States and Canada the outstanding exceptions. The chief rival was an anarchism transformed with the growth of industrialism into syndicalism. The Christian orientation, made up predominantly of Catholic trade unions, served as the third force. Since the first World War, the communists largely have supplanted the syndicalists as the revolutionary opposition. Minor dissident elements also continue to exist.

Within the Socialist movement there developed two broad differences over strategy and tactics in promoting the cause. One faction stressed what became known in the jargon of the movement as "ultimate" demands. This group maintained that Marxism implied concentration on bringing about the early overthrow of the capitalist system and replacing it with a socialist society. Only incidentally should socialists interest themselves in the current improvement of working and living conditions. The other group counseled emphasis on "immediate" demands; namely, achieving maximum benefits for the workers under capitalism through their trade unions, political parties and related organizations and activities. The latter group believed that priority in the political field should be given to influencing the government and its administrative units and to securing a wide range of social reform and other legislation. High on this program were such items as favorable taxation, various forms of social security, minimum wages, shorter hours, safe and wholesome working quarters, better and cheaper housing, government ownership of public utilities and other natural monopolies.

By and large with the support of the powerful trade union organizations, the group which stressed immediate demands swung into the ascendancy. But, until fairly recently, it vied with the other wing as the true interpreter of Marxism. Socialist literature in all languages is cluttered with writings ranging from ponderous tomes to popular tracts dogmatically pronouncing the genuineness of either position and vehemently attacking the opposite view. But there was unanimity that pure socialism was based on a working class orientation, as put forth by Karl Marx and his associates. Scattered individuals in the socialist movement daringly advised complete abandonment of Marxism, with its materialistic conception of history, class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and allied dogmas. As a whole, however, the national and international socialist movements proclaimed adherence to Marxism.

Nevertheless, seeking readily attainable concrete goals and pressured by its strong trade union supporters, the dominant socialist faction tacitly and in practice began to deviate from Marxism. In the course of time, its position evolved into a new philosophy. It became evident at the same time that capitalism was not, according to Marxian philosophy, "digging its own grave." Its permanence and sta-

bility, despite recurrent lapses, hardly could be challenged. Nor could it be questioned that under it the lot of the workers and people in general was steadily and often dramatically improving. Hence, several other Marxian slogans no longer reflected reality.

Thus, there no longer was a true ring to the opening of the "International," the official socialist song: "Arise ye prisoners of starvation, arise ye wretched of the earth." Or to the doctrinaire declaration on the working class in the "Communist Manifesto": "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains." This drift from Marxism was accelerated by the rambunctious communist antics.

In a period of growth following the second world war, the communist movement began to monopolize Marxism in a flamboyant and terroristic manner. Marxism was used to justify vicious and callous communist programs and activities in a way which shocked the western democratic world. Socialists thus began to feel the need of dissociating themselves from their kin—the barbarous and violent Communist rivals. Gradually, the socialists shied away from using Marxian terminology and began presenting themselves as a militant and far-reaching social reform movement encompassing the general interest, rather than the exclusive interest, of the working class. Without fanfare in this initial stage of abandoning Marxism, the socialist movements began adapting ideology to practice.

At present, therefore, the socialist movements of the most viable and highly-developed industrialized countries either tacitly or pronouncedly subscribe to a welfare state ideology, generally within a social order based upon a mixed economy. This is so whether they function as the powerful opposition, participants in coalition governments or as the controlling party.

Indeed, nationalization—once a cardinal tenet—now is being subordinated to principles of "social reform" and "social justice." In the Scandinavian countries, the socialist movements ignore completely the issues of nationalization or social ownership and operation of the means of production.

This alteration of Socialist thinking has brought it ideologically closer to the main sectors of the other non-communist labor movements. From its very inception, the international Catholic trade union movement—guided by the *Rerum Novarum* encyclical of Pope Leo XIII—also has espoused a social reform philosophy now described as the welfare state concept.

Except for the communists and a few straggling fringe groups, the viable labor movements in Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Israel and other countries with a western orientation now have tacitly or overtly discarded their former social revolutionary philosophies. In those world areas with powerful labor movements of considerable accumulated experience, the guiding objective is moderation and adherence to a welfare state ideology, garnished in some countries with a mixed economy seasoning.

**KEEP UP
WITH
THE
WORLD**



EDWARD P. MORGAN

and the news

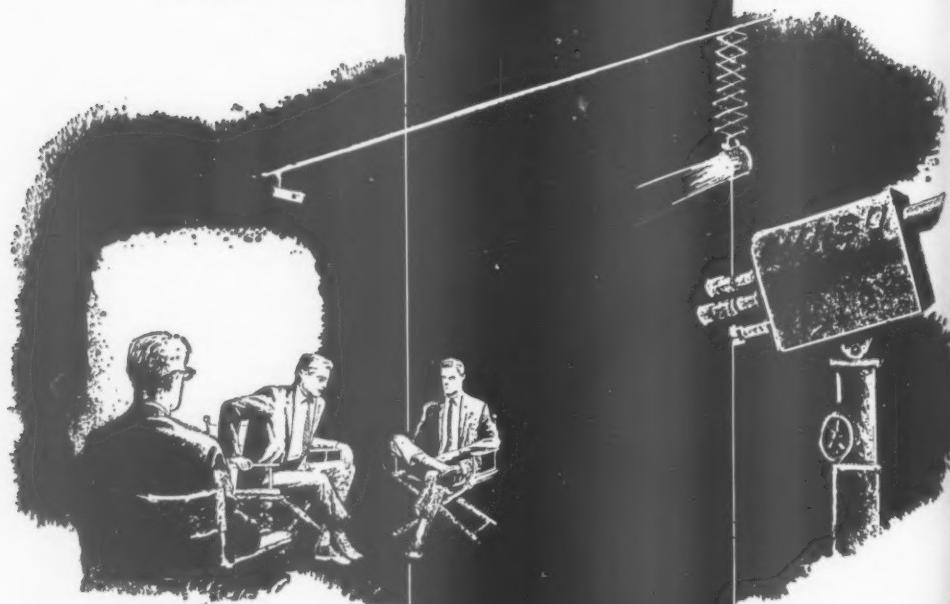
**Coast to Coast
on ABC
Monday thru Friday
7 P.M. Eastern Time***

* Check your paper for local time

sponsored by AFL-CIO

BRIEFING SESSION

a public affairs
program
with a
difference



*Read the AFL-CIO News
for the schedule
in your area*

presented by AFL-CIO and National Educational Television